2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

speaking teachers of our own language we shall make no progress. One of my sons, who is in Edinburgh, has just failed an examination and of all things he has failed in Arabic. It is a disgrace and for that disgrace we have India to thank. We are not part of that country geographically and we are not the same people and we do not speak the same language."

He paused again, and then with an abrupt change of subject went on:

"We have no newspapers, but unfortunately we have got lawyers. Newspapers, properly managed, can be useful and let the Government know how the people think and make the people think in the right way, but they can be dangerous unless they are in the hands of experienced and honest men, and we have none. Where is the experience to come from? Maybe it is as well that we have no newspapers, but the lawyers, well, that was a serious mistake, they should never have been allowed to practise until the people were better educated; they are a plague, they are worse than locusts, they make mischief and they encourage people to go to courts. At the present time they are too busy making money to think of other things, but they will once they have grown fat and then they will talk politics to the people and this before the people are properly awake. It will be dangerous and Government must take the necessary measures."

He had an irritating habit, as I was to realise later, of saying that Government must take "the necessary measures" and not saying what form the "measures" should take. So often in the future was he to diagnose the distemper, but unfortunately not very often was he able to suggest the remedy. His reference to the lawyers was to be repeated from time to time through the years that I knew him. They had been allowed to practise in the courts in Aden in 1928; before that they were prohibited from appearing in court, although there had been no prohibition on their acting as legal advisers out of court. At that time the Bar was approximately one hundred per cent. Indian and was to remain so for nearly twenty years, and it is probably this monopoly of the Bar by Indians which accounted to some extent for Mackenzie's dislike of lawyers, but it was not the

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693 whole reason, because there was a great deal in what he had said. In the early days certainly, there was a tendency for some of the less scrupulous legal practitioners not to attempt too seriously to dissuade their clients from going to court when they had no case.

000 Mackawwi now turned to the Protectorate, and said:

"You have not seen the Protectorate yet!"

"No," I replied.

"They are ignorant and poor people and something should be done for them," he said.

"What should be done?" I inquired. It was a question I was often to ask him and sometimes he did give me an answer, but more often than not the reply came,

"I do not know, but something should be done, something should be done before it is too late."

At this point the bell rang from the Resident's room and Mackawwi, unfolding his legs—he had been sitting with one thrown over the other—rose to his feet and with a particularly charming smile shook hands, and drifted through the door and away as if carried by the light breeze that blew that morning from the sea.

648 From the time that Aden was first acquired by us it formed
668 part of the Bombay Presidency, but by 1932 political developments in India had reached a stage which made a break with Bombay inevitable. The Resident had been consulted, and it had been made clear to the authorities in India and London that the Arabs, who formed the majority of the population of the Settlement, would react most unfavourably to any suggestion that Aden should continue to be under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Government once provincial autonomy had become a fact in India. We took the view in Aden at that time that it would not be practicable for Aden to continue under control which had passed into the hands of the Indians themselves. Aden was not an Indian Colony, and over the years the Arabs had learnt one thing very clearly and that was not to expect generous treatment from India.

648 To understand the attitude of the Arabs to other races it
• 563 must be realised that they consider themselves and always have,
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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

as superior to all people of colour and as equal in every way with ourselves and the Americans. The other European races fall, in their view, into a category somewhere between the Eastern and African races and the British, and it was therefore unthinkable that once the Aden Arabs had understood the implications of our policy in India that they would submit tamely to Indian domination. As Mackawwi said, they had been asleep for years, but now were beginning to stir and show signs of awakening.

In the spring of 1932, as Second Assistant Resident, I signed the Government Notice informing the public that Aden had been created a Chief Commissioner's Province under the direct control of the Government of India and was therefore no longer subordinate to the Government of Bombay. The issue of this very important Notice, which was in fact the first step on the road to internal self-government (though no-one recognised it as such at that time) caused little comment in Aden, except among the Parsees who viewed the transfer with disfavour. They had friends and relatives in Bombay and hoped that with the coming of Provincial autonomy to that Province they would have been able to play an even greater part in Aden affairs in the future than they had done in the past.

The practical effect of the change was that instead of the Bombay Government making kind noises when some proposal for the improvement of the lot of the people of Aden was submitted to them and passing it on to the Government of India, with the strongest recommendations and a clear indication that they could not make the necessary finance available, the Government of India just said "No" at once. The result was precisely the same although indeed speedier and had the advantage that no false hopes were encouraged in the inexperienced.

The continued lack of sympathy on the part of the Government of India during the years following the transfer from Bombay could have but one result and that was to make the Arabs resent more and more the link between Aden and India. It had become a fetter to be shaken off as soon as possible. Mackawwi, and those who thought as he did, began to take

was enough business to warrant the Council being called together. Then having taken the oath and signed the Register I found myself immediately leader of the "Opposition". None of us on either side of the Council had any experience of political work or of public speaking, except perhaps for one lawyer on the Unofficial side and the Attorney-General and the Director of Education on the Government side. These gentlemen were accustomed to speaking in the Court or in the lecture hall and classroom, but that was not quite the same thing as addressing a body of men who had no desire to listen to arguments presented purely in a legalistic manner or to be "lectured", however able the lecturer; so even these gentlemen held their peace, except during the Budget Meetings when our lawyer sometimes got rather carried away, occasionally to the embarrassment of his own side, a happening, so I am informed, not confined solely to Colonial Legislatures.

There were no political parties at that time in Aden, so that we none of us represented any particular political movement and were, for the most part, elderly gentlemen representative of our own communities in the Colony who had been nominated for our proven loyalty and solid worth, rather than for our aptitude for politics or any particular intelligence. No attempt was made at that time to encourage the younger generation to take a responsible part in the government of the Colony. That was to come later when we had, all of us, more experience and were more sure of ourselves. One of the main difficulties that the Governor must have had in deciding who to nominate to represent the Arab majority of the population on the Legislative Council was that the official language of the Council was English and the common language of all the various committees was also English, and it was well-nigh impossible to find an able man of mature age among the Arabs who not only knew English but was prepared also to give up much of his time to public work. Immature lads there were, but no-one would have welcomed their appointment, least of all the more responsible members of their own community who would have had no faith in "children" as they termed them. Time was needed to mature the "children" and to accustom the grey-

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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beards to seeing comparatively young men in positions of responsibility. In the meantime we held the fort and tried to build up a tradition of sober and gentlemanly conduct in the Council which would curb the impetuosity without breaking the spirit of the younger generation when in the fullness of time they joined us and replaced us.

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As the leader of the Unofficial Members in the uneasy calm which had succeeded the Arab-Jewish riots in 1947, the line which I took then and continued to follow throughout my time on that side of the Council was that we were not in the usually accepted sense of the word an opposition. Although we were on the Unofficial side of Government we were jointly responsible with our official colleagues, for decisions taken in the Council which we had supported. It was not often that we raised our voice in opposition in the public meetings of the Council, because we preferred to reserve our criticism for the privacy of the Committee room, and sharp were some of the encounters which took place behind those closed doors. You may wonder why we should be unwilling to oppose Government openly in Council. The reason was that the temperament of people in the United Kingdom and the temperament of people in the Colonies is vastly different. In the United Kingdom very few people concern themselves unduly about the views of the Members of Parliament at Westminster, and verbal duels and quarrels in the Commons seldom, if ever, have the least effect upon public tranquillity. But Parliamentary Reports which are to be found on the minor and less important pages of only a few of the daily newspapers in this country often contain material which in a Colony, in the kindergarten stage of political development, would have a very unpleasant effect. In the Aden of ten years ago a really outspoken attack on the Government by the Unofficial Members would have had but one result; it would have undermined the authority of Government outside the Council Chamber, and in consequence there would have been a deterioration in security. At such a time this would have been serious. Government understood and respected our motives.

With the full approval of my Unofficial colleagues I summed

First Acquaintance with the Protectorate

"No, no. There is no necessity, they are Jews," said he.
"But what has that got to do with it, they worked for me," I said.
"You do not understand. They are Jews," he said with a marked patience, as if talking to a child.
I argued no more but sent my servant with a small reward; whether it reached them or not I do not know.

There were then several thousand Jews living in the Protectorate with a greater measure of security than they enjoyed in Central Europe. They were the artisans and the gold and silversmiths, and their houses were grouped together and generally rightly removed from the Arab quarters of the town. Every small town in the north-western area of the Protectorate had one of these Jewish quarters. They were not interfered with and they could and they did own land, and they were useful to the Arabs and lived in peace with them. They were not involved in tribal disputes and it was considered something of a personal disgrace to kill a Jew. When they left some years later, driven almost against their will by a force they could scarcely understand to Palestine, their need was felt and more than one Ruler tried to persuade them not to go. When they insisted on going they were not unreasonably treated by the Protectorate Rulers and were allowed to sell their land, unlike the Yemen where all the property of emigrating Jews became State property.

My next trip into the Protectorate was of a very different character and came some two years later. I flew to Mukeiras with the Resident and Portal,[1] then A.O.C. in Aden, and Douglas Macfadyen,[2] then a Flight Lieutenant. Mukeiras was and still is the capital of the Audhali Plateau, and it was there that the Resident was to meet the young Audhali Sultan and his uncle, the Regent, to receive their thanks for the efforts which he had made on their behalf during his negotiations with the Yemen for the 1934 Treaty: this had resulted in the evacuation by the Zeidi forces of the whole of the Audhali Plateau as a prerequisite to the signature of the Treaty.

[1] Marshal of the Royal Air Force Viscount Portal, K.G., G.C.B., D.S.O., M.C.

[2] Air Marshal Sir Douglas Macfadyen, K.C.B., C.B.E., A.O.C.-in-C. Home Command R.A.F.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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security forces in further detail, but for the moment I want to confine my attention to security in the Colony.

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The Colony, to all outward appearances, and they can be very deceptive, always seemed to be one of the most peaceful places on earth where nothing was ever likely to happen, but in fact it only required a minor incident at the wrong time to cause really serious trouble and to do so not within a matter of days, but almost of minutes. The reason, of course, is not far to seek; it is that there are in the Colony three races who have no special love for each other. The Jews are disliked and despised by the Arabs whom they fear, while the Arabs in their turn dislike the Somalis who are, at the best of times, a truculent lot. Therefore, we were always liable to have trouble between the Arabs and the Jews which might well spread to the Hindu community, or between the Somalis and the Arabs, or between all three, and in no time, much to the surprise very often of successive Air Officers Commanding, the summer skies had clouded over and we were having a devil of a storm, which with firm measures would pass as quickly as it began. A stranger would be astonished to learn on his arrival in tranquil Aden that inter-racial disturbances had resulted in one or two deaths only two or three days before.

I do not want to give the impression that Aden is particularly prone to disorder, and that civil disturbances are the rule rather than the exception because this would be a false picture. What I mean is that, on the rare occasions when there is trouble, it comes with incredible swiftness, due to the latent racial animosities that are always present.

To give an instance of my first experience of the speed of events when inter-racial trouble started in the Colony, I must go back to 1931, when there occurred the first anti-Jewish riot. At that time there were some 6,000 Jews living in Aden, most of them in Crater in their own quarter close by the Boys' Secondary School. Some of them were very wealthy and most of them were in business either as shopkeepers or merchants or petty traders, and generally speaking, they kept very much to themselves, were self-effacing and their contacts with the Arabs were reasonably good. From time to time,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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however, the younger elements of the Jewish community became a little swollen headed and were inclined to be somewhat truculent and walk three abreast down the pavement, forcing everyone else into the street, and when this began to happen experience showed that there was quite likely to be trouble. The Arabs consider that the Jews are their social inferiors and provided they keep their place, or what the Arabs consider to be their place, there is no trouble at all and the two communities may live side by side in peace for years; but as soon as the Jews tended to forget that they were Jews and began to assert themselves as such, then there was always a likelihood of serious trouble.

One afternoon, the Resident, as the Governor was called in those days, went to Crater to present prizes at the Boys' Secondary School and I, as his Personal Assistant, went with him. We left the Secondary School building about 7 p.m., and drove back to the Residency and when we did so the streets in Crater were just as they usually are, and as we passed by the Jewish quarter there was no sign of any excitement whatsoever. Some twenty minutes later we arrived back at the Residency and I hurried off to change as there was to be a dinner party that evening and it was my duty to meet the guests on their arrival. I was having my bath when the telephone rang in my office next door, and draping a towel round my waist I hurried into the office and picked up the instrument.

"Menahem Mena speaking. I must speak to the Resident at once," said a voice.

Now, Selim Menahem Mena was the most important member of the Jewish community and a man of very considerable wealth indeed.

"I am afraid, Mr. Menahem Mena, that the Resident is busy at the moment, but I can give him a message if you like," I answered.

"Yes, tell him that we must have help at once, tell him that we are all being killed," said the voice.

"Who is being killed?" I asked.

"The Jews. The Arabs are killing us. We must have help."

I was, of course, astonished, as we had only just come back

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

579 from very peaceful Crater and I assumed that I had to deal with a lunatic who must be humoured, or with some attempt at a practical joke.

"All right," I said, "I shall see the Resident in a few minutes and then I will let him know what you have said."

I then went back to my bath and had scarcely finished it and was putting on my trousers when the Office Orderly came in and said that the Sergeant of the Residency Guard wished to see me: the Sergeant reported that two Jews, who seemed to be very excited, had arrived in a car and demanded to see the Resident. The Sergeant wanted to know what he was to do, so I told him to bring them to my office at once. I had scarcely completed dressing before the Sergeant was back again with a couple of white-faced Jews who started speaking as soon as they saw me. They demanded to see the Resident; they said the Jews were being murdered; they said the Authorities were doing nothing and that the police would not help, and so on and so forth. When eventually I did succeed in stopping the spate of words, I rang up the Commissioner of Police only to be told that he had gone to the Crater Police Station. This was the second shock I had that evening, because it certainly looked as *if* something unusual was happening in Crater if the Commissioner of Police had gone there when he should have been having his dinner. I rang up the Crater Police Station and the telephone Orderly confirmed that the Commissioner had been there, but that he and the Inspector had gone off to the Jewish quarter where a disturbance had been reported between the Arabs and Jews. He did not ease my mind at all when he said that the Armed Police had been called out, but I confess I still found it extremely hard to believe that there was anything approaching a major disturbance because everything had been so peaceful and so ordinary when we ourselves had been in Crater little more than half an hour earlier.

However, I left instructions with the Crater Police Station for the Commissioner to ring up the Residency as soon as he returned, and leaving the Jews in my office with the Sergeant of the Guard, I went into the Residency, to the Resident's

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

563 •
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bedroom where he was changing for dinner. I told him what had happened, and as soon as he was dressed he came with me to my office where he listened to what the Jews had to say, pacified them and sent them away; he then asked me to go as quickly as possible to the Crater police station.

The street outside the Secondary School was full of people, but just beyond the school and between the school and the Police Station, which was about 200 yards away, it was empty because the houses along one side of the street were occupied by Jews who seemed to have become hysterical and were on their roof-tops throwing stones indiscriminately at anyone passing in the street below. I left the car at the school— it was too big a target—and ran across no-man's land, arriving at the Police Station without misadventure, where I found that the commissioner had just arrived. He was cool and collected as he always was in a crisis, but he was quite unable to say what was the cause of the riot. All that he knew then was that it started just after the Resident and I had left the Secondary School, when the congregation of a Mosque on the outskirts of the Jewish quarter had, in the middle of evening prayer, become highly excited and rushed out and started to try and break into the Jewish houses nearby, the while vowing vengeance on the inhabitants. The police had acted promptly and no serious damage had been done, but the wildest rumours were flying about and crowds of Arabs were collecting in the streets. The Jews, as usual, had lost their nerve and barricaded themselves inside their houses and started throwing anything that came to their hands from their windows and their roofs at all and sundry in the streets below. The Commissioner, who had called out his Armed Police and posted guards on Menahem Messa's house—he was known to have a very large sum of silver coin on the premises—felt that he could control the situation and did not at that time want any military assistance. He promised to report in an hour's time, or sooner, should the situation deteriorate, and I hurried off back to the Residency to let the Resident know what I had discovered.

The next morning the situation was still tense, and although there had been no further outbreaks of violence, it was decided

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

• 563 577 to send the armoured cars to Crater and to relieve some of the police who had behaved splendidly throughout, to give them a much-needed rest by detailing soldiers to carry out their duties temporarily.

Meanwhile in the Residency office at Tawahi we were having a rather tiresome time because the most extraordinary telegrams were coming in from London calling for reports, asking how many Jews had been killed and showing clearly that the powers that be had got the impression that the slaughter was wholesale. They had to be answered, and were, but what was to us more important was to find out who was sending false reports to London, and for this purpose censorship was imposed on all telegrams being sent from Aden which had any reference to the riot.

The night passed without incident and the next morning the Resident went to Crater and called personally on Menahem Messa. He found everything was quiet and though alarmed, Menahem Messa was quite satisfied with the arrangements which had been made by the authorities to ensure the safety of the Jews. When he returned I showed him a telegram which had just been sent to me by the Eastern Telegraph Company under the censorship regulations. It was addressed to a Jewish organisation in London; it referred to a pogrom of the Jews and complained that the authorities refused to take adequate measures to protect the Jews. It had, in fact, been sent from Menahem Messa's house while the Resident was actually in the house talking to Menahem Messa. It must be recorded though, in fairness to Menahem Messa, that he himself knew nothing about it and was in no way responsible.

During this riot no one was killed and only one person was seriously injured and that was a Somali milkman, who, for some unknown reason, was stabbed; and there were not in fact very many minor injuries during the whole course of the ruction.

Later we discovered that the immediate cause of the riot was a parcel of filth which had been thrown out of a Jewish window in the direction of the night soil passage alongside the house, but it had missed its mark and landed in the middle

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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of the Mosque at prayer time. This is just an example of a careless incident that can start trouble in Aden.

Another example of inter-racial tension, and one which did not end so happily, came about in 1947 when events in Palestine, and the foolish behaviour locally of people who should have known better, put a match to the sensitive tinder that is Aden. The result was horrible because of the appalling speed with which order dissolved into chaos, and murder and pillage came to the normally law-abiding town. It was a lesson which I, for one, was to heed in the years to come.

Events outstripped the precautions taken, and the police were unable to control the situation, with the result that the Civil Authority had to abdicate temporarily and control passed to the Military, and the Air Officer Commanding called upon the Aden Protectorate Levies to restore order. They were tried beyond their breaking point and they proved at that time to be unreliable in an inter-racial dispute involving their co-religionists and the hated Jews. To resolve the situation troops had to be brought in by air and Naval ratings landed from hastily summoned warships; order was restored speedily, but not before many people had died and much of Crater in and around the Jewish quarter had become a blackened ruin of buildings.

Compensation was paid to the worst sufferers, Jew and Gentile alike, by the Government of Aden, and loans were granted, many of which have still to be repaid in spite of the solemn undertakings and promises given and entered into by the Jews. There was, of course, an inquiry into the disturbances, and the need to maintain in Aden a detachment of British troops for Internal Security purposes was recognised. So does good come from evil.

The Jews, many of whom had that inborn longing for the promised land which is a characteristic of their race, fled to Palestine in ever-increasing numbers, until a few years later there were scarcely 700 Jews left in Aden. The Jewish community had ceased to be a factor in the affairs of the Colony.

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The erstwhile Muslim leaders, frightened and sobered by what they had failed to prevent, tried to prove that the damage

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

had been done by the foreign elements in the population and blamed the Yemeni labourers in the harbour, the cargo and the coal coolies, but they knew full well that the Yemenis had not been responsible for starting the trouble and had not been slow in the pillaging and fire-raising. However, this bare was duly banned, and the control of landward immigration became a disturbing major problem and many and curious were the proposals and plans that were considered. A great fence was to be built round the landward side of the Colony, twenty to thirty miles in length at a cost which no-one troubled to discover; the Colony was to be cut in half by another fence across the Isthmus, turning Khormaksar and Sheikh Othman into a vast squatter camp of undesirables who could not gain entrance into the Fortress Area; watch towers with searchlights were to be constructed and supplemented by police motor patrols; the population was to be registered and the coolie lines moved from the vulnerable Steamer Point area, all complete with the coal wharves that they served and which were such an eyesore, across the harbour to the northern side. Gradually a more balanced view prevailed and only the last proposals became absolutes. The population has been registered and the coolies have been moved, not across the harbour, but from their disgraceful overcrowded dormitories to modern comfortable lines at Ma'alla; and the coal wharves are under construction, but whether there will be any coal to put on them when they are finished is quite a different matter. Every year less and less coal is imported into Aden, for ships bunkers, and very shortly the coaling ship will be almost unique.

I do not propose at this juncture to refer to the breaches of the peace which occurred during the labour disturbances in 1933 when the Police Force behaved so admirably—that will come later—but I am going to relate two more examples of the speed with which events in the internal security field can move in Aden.

Less than two months after I became Governor I flew to Mukeiras for a few days. The day after my arrival I heard and saw an aeroplane circling round the landing ground, and

Rhodes House G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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something seemed to tell me that it was a bad omen; so I packed a bag quickly my servants had gone to the local village not expecting that they would be required) and hurried across to the landing ground, arriving there just after the plane touched down. It was the acting Chief Secretary, with news of trouble: a Jewish girl had declared that she had become a Muslim and had left her mother's house and gone to the home of the father of the young Muslim she proposed to marry. The girl's mother had applied to the Court, and as the girl was a minor, the Judge of the Supreme Court had issued an order that she was to be restored to her mother's custody. It was scarcely necessary for the acting Chief Secretary to tell me that there was considerable excitement in the town. It was only to be expected, and I recalled the trouble that had arisen recently over a very similar situation in another Colony. I had no option but to return immediately, which I did, and on arrival in Aden I sent for the Air Officer Commanding and for the Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Police; and then asked the Judge of the Supreme Court to call and inform us what action he had taken. What he had done was perfectly clear, and although from an administrative point of view exasperating in the extreme, was legally correct and unavoidable, and it was difficult to see how he could have done anything else. What we had got to do was just as exasperating, but equally clear, and that was to see that the order of the Court was carried out and that the girl was restored to her mother's house.

The Commissioner of Police left us in no doubt about the feeling in the Colony and what would result when the girl, now a Muslim, was taken by force; she would not go willingly to her mother's house—the house of a Jewess—and he informed us of the arrangements he proposed to make if he had to carry out the order of the Court which he said quite frankly he hoped would not be necessary in view of the tense situation in the Colony. I made it quite clear to him that the Court's order must be carried out, but that I was prepared to delay its execution for forty-eight hours—sufficient time for such precautions as would have to be made to deal with any disturbance,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

•573 and time for me to try and settle the matter by personal
579 negotiation with the leaders of the two communities. The Air Officer Commanding was perfectly agreeable to my request for British troops to be moved to Crater immediately before the Commissioner of Police carried out the order of the Court, and he co-operated in every way, but he did ask whether it was advisable to bring the military into it before it appeared to be absolutely necessary. I told him that in my experience, wherever there was a serious civil disturbance, or the likelihood that there would be one, the Governor would certainly be blamed whatever action he took, and that that was the only certainty there ever was in these affairs. If adequate measures were taken and in consequence there was no disturbance, then I should be accused of being over-cautious and worse. On the other hand, if adequate measures were not taken and there was a riot and there were casualties, then I should be accused, and rightly, of having failed to take adequate measures to ensure the maintenance of law and order. As I was going to be blamed whatever happened I would rather be blamed for being too careful than for not having been careful enough. The Air Officer Commanding on this occasion, as on every occasion when I had to call upon him, gave me his wholehearted support, and if we had had trouble, there would have been no doubt about the co-operation between the Civil and Military Authorities.

Immediately my conference was over I sent for the leader of the Jewish community and the Pakistani Muslim contractor to whose house the girl had gone. The Muslim contractor was only too willing to do everything he could, and the Jew, after he had blamed everyone, except the girl and his own community for what had occurred, also expressed his willingness to try and solve the problem, and at my request they met together and later in the morning they came to see me and suggested that the girl, should she refuse to return home, should go to the house of a European doctor who lived outside the town and remain with his wife for the time being until the excitement had died down. Unfortunately, the girl's mother, who was a widow, would not agree to this procedure and insisted on the girl being returned to her house. At her request

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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I saw the old lady that evening, and I can well understand why her daughter decided to leave home. She did not hesitate to tell me what she thought of me and everybody else and to bang my desk with her clenched fist until the pens and pencils flew all over the place; the Commissioner of Police jumped to his feet thinking that she would have to be restrained physically. She calmed down eventually and was taken away, but not before I had explained to her that her daughter, who was eighteen years old, would be returned to her house, but that she was not entitled to keep her in the house by force, and if she could not persuade her to stay, then the girl was entitled to leave again, and if she did leave she would be taken by the Commissioner of Police to the European doctor's house whose wife was willing and ready to receive her. It was at this interview that I discovered that the girl was, in fact, the Jewish leader's sister-in-law.

After much coming and going by everyone concerned, and many who were not, all through the morning and afternoon of Friday as tension mounted, the girl's fears were overcome and she agreed to go and see her mother. Late on Friday night she was taken in a closed car from the contractor's house to her mother's house. The old lady soundly upbraided her daughter in the presence of the Commissioner of Police and the doctor's wife, whereupon the girl refused to remain at home, and being free to depart she was taken at once to the doctor's house. Technically the Order of the Court had been executed, or so the Attorney-General assured me, and for some strange reason everyone was quite satisfied. The excitement died down immediately; the troops did not have to be moved to Crater, and a week later, without the slightest objection from the Jewish community or from anyone else, the girl ran away from the doctor's house back to that of the Muslim contractor and was married to his son. Very extraordinary!

Three years later I was at a cabaret entertainment at one of the larger cinemas which was owned by the aforesaid contractor. The entertainment was in aid of some charity, precisely which charity I have forgotten, but I have not forgotten that at half-time the Proprietor came to my table and whispered

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579 in my ear that his son's wife would like to see me. So I rose and went through the back of the hall into a private house, and for the first time I met the Jewish girl who had been such an informal entrance three years earlier. She and her husband seemed extremely happy.

563 As I have already indicated, it was not only strained relations
829 between Arabs and Jews which might lead to serious disturbances in the Colony, but also the ill-feeling which existed between the Arabs and the Somalis. The Arabs disliked the Somalis, partly because of their truculent behaviour which they found difficult to tolerate from people who were darker in colour than themselves and whom they considered to be an inferior race, and partly because Somalis flocked over from their country to Aden in search of work which the local Arabs held, with a considerable degree of truth, to be their own prerogative.

563 An example of Arab-Somali tension occurred in the spring
464 of 1954, but on this occasion the trouble was over at Buraikha where the Aden Refinery had recently come "on stream". When the Refinery Management were considering various solutions to their labour recruiting problem they had been warned that they were inviting trouble if they employed too many Somalis in work which could be done by local or Protectorate Arabs. The advice had been accepted, but it had not been followed as strictly as it should have been, with the result that there was a considerable Somali labour force at the Refinery.

563 It was my custom in the winter months to go out very early
579 on Sunday morning along the Khormaksar Beach to Aliyan, either with a friend or by myself, except for my faithful personal guards, there to shoot duck, or possibly a goose, or both if I was really lucky, and this custom was well-known to the Chief Secretary. Occasionally I would go out the evening before and stay the night and although normally I always let the Chief Secretary know when I expected to be absent from the Colony for a night, I sometimes forgot to do so. It was not altogether surprising, therefore, when one Saturday night at about ten o'clock he rang up Government House and, getting no reply, thought it was because I was away, and assumed that

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (c.a. 1951-c.a. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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I had gone shooting. In fact the A.D.C. and I had gone to bed very early and the orderly who should have been on duty at the telephone had either gone to sleep himself or gone in search of a cup of tea. The next morning when my early tea was brought at about six o'clock—(early rising was another, to my subordinates, objectionable habit of mine)—the servant who brought it asked me how the trouble at the Refinery was getting on. I asked him what he was talking about and he said: "Oh, a riot started over at Buraikha last night and the troops have been called out."

I at once rang up the Chief Secretary and was not surprised when, even at that early hour, he answered the telephone immediately. I asked him what was happening, and when he had overcome his astonishment at finding that I was in Government House, he explained that late on Saturday afternoon an Arab watchman on the Refinery premises had arrested a Somali, or vice-versa—I forget precisely which it was—for loitering in a suspicious manner. Immediately there ran round the Arab and Somali cookie lines the most exaggerated rumours about the Somali or Arab having been brutally treated, and before very long the Somalis and the Arabs were at each other's throats. Police precautions were taken and everything was well in hand until the situation had deteriorated rapidly at about half-past nine at night, and the Commissioner of Police had felt it desirable to ask for military support. It was then that I had been called on the telephone by the Chief Secretary, because it is the Governor in person who should ask the Air Officer Commanding for military assistance. Not having received any reply, and assuming, as he did, that I was away, the Chief Secretary had then rung up the Air Officer Commanding himself and explained the situation whereupon, quite rightly, the Air Officer Commanding had despatched troops across to Buraikha.

I asked what the situation was and the Chief Secretary told me that he had no first-hand information as he had been unable to get through to the Commissioner of Police or to the Refinery Office. I, myself, rang up the Refinery and was lucky to find someone had just come into the office who told me

Sir Nicholetham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

• 563 that although there had been a lull in the rioting during the
579 night, it had again broken out and the Commissioner of Police and the Officer commanding the troops had gone off to deal with the new trouble.

I was not satisfied, and I determined to drive myself over to Buraikha at once and see precisely what was happening. I also decided that I would take the Audhali Sultan, who was on a visit to Aden, over with me because some four or five hundred of his tribesmen were employed in the Refinery, and his presence would certainly have a calming effect on them, and probably on the other Arabs as well. I telephoned him at his lodgings in Crater and found he was only too willing to help in any way. So, arranging to meet him *en route*, I dressed hastily and telephoned the Air Officer Commanding to let him know what I was going to do.

I met the Audhali Sultan near Mo'alla, and in about half an hour we reached the Refinery cordon lines to find that about ten minutes before our arrival the rioting had stopped. It had stopped when a police officer, quite rightly, shot an Arab rioter who was about to undo a gateway which would have let a considerable number of furious Arabs into an area where there were only a few Somalis, who would undoubtedly have suffered severely, if they had not actually been killed.

I think on the whole that the Sultan and I did a certain amount of good in as much as we were able to walk round among the Arab rioters, or those who had been rioting, and advise them clearly and firmly to stop making a nuisance of themselves. The Somalis, who were outnumbered by the Arabs, had completely lost their heads and were behaving in a very provocative manner without giving thought to the consequences, were reassured by our presence, and by the time we left had begun to calm down. After having spoken to as many people as was possible and conferred with the Commissioner of Police and his officers and men, all of whom had acted in an exemplary manner, and also said a few words to the Officer commanding the troops who, I am glad to say, had not actually had to open fire, I went over to the Refinery hospital where the wounded, who were mostly Somalis,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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were being taken care of. I walked round and talked to them; there, also, I saw the Arab who had been shot, and learned that there was a reasonable chance that he would not succumb to his wound. This relieved my mind, because although sharp lessons are necessary when people behave as these people had, and when the occasion arises the police must do their duty even to the extreme length of opening fire on a crowd, one has in one's heart sympathy for the foolish and hates to see them suffer too much for their faults.

By the time the Sultan and I had finished our tour as it were, things were in much better shape, thanks to the efficiency of the police and the prompt action of the Police Officer who had fired and by so doing had brought a number of the rioters to their senses.

Two days later, except for stones and dustbin lids, which had been used by the Somalis as shields, lying about, there was practically no sign of the riot, and everybody appeared to be working together perfectly amicably.

The incidents which I have related above will give some idea of the speed with which the normal tranquillity of the Colony can be disturbed and a state of affairs come about which may require, not only police action of the most extreme nature, but also intervention by the military forces.

The stationing of a detachment of the Royal Air Force Regiment was, as I have said, a direct development of the 1947 Arab-Jewish riots and the Commission of Inquiry into the riots which was held in January 1948 and which advocated the presence of British troops in the Colony for internal security purposes. They certainly have my deepest gratitude for their wise decision, but I would not like it to be thought for one moment that the Aden Protectorate Levies will never be fit to undertake Internal Security duties—far from it—even in the few years which lapsed between the riots and my return from Aden there has been considerable improvement in discipline, and although I consider that in fairness to all races the presence of British troops is still essential, there is no doubt that in time the Levies will be capable of undertaking any duty they may be required to perform. It is, like everything else, only a

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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Labour Relations in the Colony

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ONE of the problems with which I had to deal and the one which I, personally, found the most difficult and more of a strain than all the bickerings and scufflings in the Protectorate and the continual worry of strained relations with the Yemen, was labour relations in the Colony. To understand the problem a very brief sketch is essential of the history of labour from the time that we first arrived in Aden until the immediate post-war period.

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The invaders of Aden in 1839 came from India and brought with them Indian clerks and a few Indian artisans, and they not unnaturally looked to India for their future supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour. The local Arab was, by Indian standards, totally uneducated and seemed unlikely to take kindly to education, even if it was worth while for some effort to be made in that direction. The local article being thought unworthy of serious consideration, the practice of importing artisans and clerks from India to meet the ever-expanding demand for such workers, became the normal method of recruitment. Gradually a tradition was built up that the Arab would never be capable of skilled work and that such work was an Indian prerogative. The Indians themselves, short-sightedly, did nothing to discourage the belief.

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This dangerous state of affairs persisted until after the World War, partly because the Arabs remained uneducated and partly because the Indians were good workmen and their European masters did not wish for any change. Then the education of the Arabs was taken in hand seriously and they responded in a way which surprised even their most fervent champions. They

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

soon showed that they could be educated, that they were capable of doing more than just manual labour and that with understanding and encouragement there was very little that was beyond their capabilities. They began to resent the presence in their midst of an army of Indian clerks and artisans doing work which, not always with justification at that time, they considered they were capable of doing and which should be theirs by right. Unfortunately, this resentment was not confined to the Indian workers, but was directed as well against their European employers which did not make for happy racial or labour relations in the future.

The general condition of Arab labour in the Colony when I first came to know Aden in the nineteen-thirties can only be described as disgraceful. There were no superannuation benefits, and as wages left no margin between income and expenditure, nothing could be saved against old age and sickness. There were no holidays with pay, and most workers had to find their own living accommodation, and the vast majority received no medical treatment or benefit through their employers. Labour relations, as we now understand that term, did not exist. There was no form of consultation between master and man and the authority of the master was absolute.

Coal and cargo coolies were provided with accommodation; they were housed in long sheds, owned by the coaling and stevedoring companies, in grossly overcrowded conditions without any washing or sanitary arrangements, the nearby beach just across the main road served as a combined bath and lavatory. The owners never had the smallest idea who lived in these dormitories and what went on there after dark, which was probably just as well for their peace of mind in this town where women were closely guarded and youth was uncontrolled.

By the end of the World War no very great improvement in conditions was noticeable and the housing shortage, already acute, was rendered more so by a Town Planning Scheme which virtually paralysed all building operations for two years, and achieved little else except an impracticable scheme which was brought into force in a modified form and then,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Majority Community and Political Parties

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THE Arab community can be divided into four groups; the descendants of the original inhabitants and others who have become in a true sense Aden Arabs by birth and descent from established immigrants; the Hadhramis; the Protectorate Arabs; and the Yemenis.

The first group are permanent residents and among them are many of Aden's leading families, the Aideroos, the custodians of the great Aideroos Mosque whose origin is Iraqi and who came to Aden very many years ago via the Wadi Hadhramaut, the Mackawwis whose name shows their Meccan origin, the Safis, Girgarahs, and the Maktaris of Yemeni origin, the Hassonalis and Luqmans now identified with the Arabs who are of Persian and Indian descent and the Bayoomis and Khalifahs, two well-known Aden families of Egyptian origin. There was at one time an Egyptian quarter in Crater. Before the turn of the last century the present Hafat Hussein was known as the Hafat al Misri.

In the first group are to be found merchants of standing, lawyers and newspaper proprietors, shop-keepers and cinema owners, fishermen and labourers and artisans, in fact every profession and calling under the sun. They are the backbone of the Colony and by and large the moderates in the political field. The second group are in much the same position as the Europeans, they are in Aden for what they can get out of the place and their thoughts are concentrated on making money to the exclusion of all else, except their beloved Hadhramaut to which they return from time to time. They are almost without exception merchants or are employed in business

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

houses. They are clannish and only of recent years have any of them taken any part in the public life of the Colony. The exception to this statement is the Bazara family, members of which have in the past and today given their services to the public in the municipal field and in the field of sport.

The third group are in much the same position as the Hadhramis, but being nearer home they pay more frequent visits to the Protectorate, and not having the Hadhramis business astuteness they are to be found more among the employees than the employers. They are of a generous disposition, and now that the educational disadvantage from which they suffered is fast disappearing, they are playing an ever increasing part in the life of the Colony.

The last group, the Yemenis, are a problem and fall clearly into two divisions, the manual workers who spend only a few months in the Colony at any one time and have in no way severed their ties with their homeland and the merchant class who may have become assimilated into the first group or are on the way to and wishful of being so, or who may have come to Aden because they are Sha'afis, or cautious persons and who, while not giving up their Yemen connection and business interests in any way, want to have an alternative source of income and place of residence in the event of trouble in their own land.

This then is the majority community in the Colony, and it is from this community that the political parties have been evolved with some assistance in their early days from individual members of the minority communities, and the Cairo radio in more recent times.

Political parties came into being in Aden in much the same way as they have done in other parts of the world. People of similar views or recreations or occupations met together in the coffee shops and eventually had the idea of forming a Club. The Club became in time the resort of people with, broadly speaking, the same political ideas and so a Party was formed.

Aden has dozens of Clubs, but mercifully very few political Parties. Most of the Clubs are mushroom affairs that suddenly spring up over night all complete with President, Chairman,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Minority Communities and Political Development

SO far I have said very little about the minority communities in the Colony and their attitude to each other and to the place where fate has deemed they shall pass their lives or, as in the case of the majority of the Europeans, a brief part of their working life. 563

The European community on the whole look upon Aden as a place of exile from their own land, a place of temporary abode in which to earn a living and leave for a better land as soon as possible. They are not interested in the local people as human beings but only as potential or actual customers for their merchandise, or as passengers in their ships or as servants in their houses. They only mix with them socially when it is unavoidable, and when I left Aden in 1956 there were many whose only contacts with the Asiatic members of the community were by way of business. They never seemed to realise that they had any obligation to the place in which they earned their living, or to the people among whom they were living. There were, of course, exceptions to this general rule and these men and women by their unsparing efforts to help the poorer elements of the population and their genuine friendliness more than overcame the impediment to better inter-racial relations created by their unintelligent die-hard compatriots. It says much for them and the lead given by some of the senior Government officials and Service officers that inter-racial understanding and inter-mixing had progressed to a remarkable degree from what it was when I first went to Aden twenty-five years earlier. Understanding was helped by

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

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the fact that Aden was not troubled by that horrible thing—the colour question. There was no colour bar as such, it just did not exist, and I was determined that it would not be introduced while I had anything to do with the affairs of the Colony. There were, of course, a few people who disliked all coloured people simply because they were coloured; it has always been a mystery to me why such people ever leave their own country, but the majority of the British community just consider all non-Europeans as socially inferior in much the same way as they consider all Continentals to be socially inferior. The Arabs for their part are untroubled by any inferiority complex and regard the British generally as their social equals. The only complaints that I ever heard of racial discriminations came from members of the Indian community.

The Indian community are engaged in business or in skilled or clerical employment and are for the most part well-to-do and hope to remain so. They take no particular part in politics, but being allergic to riots and other violent commotions give generously to charitable appeals hoping thereby to remain on good terms with their neighbours. Their leaders, with one notable exception, keep out of politics and take little part in the public life of the Colony except in such business organisations as the Chamber of Commerce and the Aden Merchants Association. They are, as a community, very valuable commercially to the Colony but they are at the same time very vulnerable.

The Pakistanis are in their general attitude much like their co-dwellers in the Great Indian Peninsula, as it was at one time called, but they are fewer in number and as they share the same religion as the Arab majority are not in nearly so vulnerable a position. The Jews, on the other hand, the few that still remain in the Colony, shrewd business men though they are, have never been able to overcome racial prejudices, and even today the majority of them give the impression that they are in mortal dread of a recurrence of the riots. They make very little general effort to improve their relations with their neighbours, although some of their leaders set them an excellent example.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

Minority Communities and Political Development

The Somalis, of whom there are thousands in the Colony, are, generally speaking, of an arrogant disposition which does not make them any better loved by the Arabs who consider them to be socially inferior. They are good workers in the house or wherever they can sit down to the task, and taxis and launches suit their temperament admirably. They are becoming politically conscious and already have one Somali elected member in the Legislative Council. The Arabs have found that politically they are a force not to be underestimated.

All the real leaders of the communities have striven and continue to strive to improve racial relations and to engender in their followers a loyalty not to their individual race or tribe, but to Aden itself and encourage them to consider themselves primarily as citizens of Aden, as Adenese rather than as Arab, Jew, European, Indian, Pakistani or Somali. In this they have been reasonably successful and it is no longer uncommon for the leaders of the communities to join together as citizens of Aden to do honour to a distinguished guest.

So much for the human backcloth to the political development which took place during the five years of my term of office, and now for the economic wings and the stage is set.

In 1937, the year of the transfer from India to the control of the Colonial Office, the income of the Colony was £140,000 to meet the full cost of the administration, the police, medical and educational services and public works; there was no financial assistance in the form of a subvention from His Majesty's Government. Two years after emancipation came the World War, with the need for the strictest economy, a godsend to Aden financially as it enabled her not only to balance the annual budget but to put something aside against the day when development could be considered and new buildings for hospitals and schools would be practicable once more. By 1955 the Colony's annual income had reached the £4,000,000 mark and the latest Development Report bound in dark red, a rather menacing colour, and optimistically called "Development Plan 1955—60", shows that approximately £10,000,000 is being spent, or has been spent, on schools, hospitals, housing and all the normal social services. This figure does not include

000 more conventional range from golf to polo and from tennis to yachting, and from small and quite delightful dinner parties to large and devastating cocktail parties. In fact, you can do practically everything in and around Aden that can be done elsewhere in the world with the exception of winter sports, rugby football and bowls.

526 575 The great game of the local people is Association Football and there are more than twenty Football Clubs registered with the Aden Sports Association, which is a predominantly Asiatic body and which exercises a degree of control over the Clubs much on the lines of the Football Association in this country. The Association controls also the Stadium in Crater where the more important games are held and where Arabs, Indians and Somalis collect in thousands with a few Europeans on Saturday afternoons when important competition games are in progress. The standard of play is very high and nowadays there is not nearly so much rough play as there used to be and players and, or, spectators seldom come to blows on or off the ground. The hooliganism often demonstrated in this country has not 000 yet reached Aden. In this respect it is still a backward and 529 undeveloped country. Personally, although I always took an • 563 interest in the game, I never played football and confined my more athletic pursuits to hockey and tennis and I swam at Gold Mohur Bathing Club spasmodically until I discovered it had a colour bar rule, the only Club in Aden to have one, and then I left. I was not sorry to go because the Club had become very crowded and amply demonstrated the unfortunate fact that those who can afford to remove their clothing seldom do and those who should remain covered in the common interest always display as much of their ample acreage as the over-liberal 000 laws permit. My main pursuits were sailing and shooting, and in my earlier days sea fishing. Most unfortunately sailing and 526 shooting are seasonal in Aden and the season is the same for 575 both, so I was forever being torn between the two and what made matters much worse was that the Aden Yacht Club's weekly race was on Sunday morning, and Sunday morning was the only morning in the week that my conscience would 000 allow me to take off to shoot. Generally I shot until Christmas

S:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

Dhow Building

Dhows are built at Maala by a number of Hadhrami merchants settled in Aden. They turn out about seven vessels a year, the average carrying capacity of which is about 200 tons. The dhows are constructed of Indian teak from the Malabar coast and are well built and fast. They sail to India (Bombay and the Malabar coast) and to the East African coast as well as to neighbouring Arabian ports, and take a large share in local trade, in spite of the competition of the coasting steamers of Messrs. Cowasjee Dinshaw & Brothers and of Monsieur A. Besse (Halal Shipping Company). Monsieur Besse now maintains a fleet of dhows in addition to his motor vessels. Many of these dhows are equipped with auxiliary engines

Soap Manufacturing

A soap manufacturing industry started by Monsieur Besse in December, 1932, at Maala is progressing satisfactorily. The soap is manufactured by boiling coconut oil and cold processes. Local labour of 40 men is employed, and the output is about 50 cases daily, each case containing 200 cakes, which are disposed of locally or exported to the Red Sea Ports.

Dyeing

There are three factories which do business in dyeing cloth and each employs on an average about 60 persons daily. There are in addition about 18 dyers who do business on a small scale. The dyed goods are mainly exported to Mombasa, Mogadiscio, Massowa, Hodeidah, and the interior of Arabia.

Cigarette Making

The cigarette industry is conducted on a fairly large scale by Jews and Greeks with tobacco imported from Egypt.

VII.—COMMERCE

Customs

Aden being a free port, there are no customs duties.

Trade

The trade of Aden is mainly transhipment as the port is a centre for trade between all ports of the world and the neigbouring territories. The principal business is in skins, hides, coffee, cotton piece goods, grain and pulse, sugar, spices, oils, tobacco, gums, shells and salt. The total value of the seaborne trade in the year under report (12 months January to December, 1938) exclusive of transhipment cargo, was Rs. 12,16,02,203 (imports Rs. 8,02,17,766, and exports Rs. 4,13,84,437), showing a decrease of Rs. 42,91,828 as compared

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

kinds of fish are taken in fair quantity but no one species appears to predominate. Crawfish are reported as numerous on rocky bottoms, but they are only taken locally for sale fresh to Europeans. Oysters abound on the rocks between tidemarks and could no doubt be cultivated in several landlocked bays where markets are available.

In general, the fisheries appear to be promising but localised and seasonal, the fishermen tending to follow the shoals along the coast. A fishery based on a harbour might have to employ vessels of considerable ranged storage capacity if landings were to be kept constant throughout the year.

During the greater part of 1947 the Fisheries Officer was still under training in the United Kingdom, but the Fisheries Adviser to the Colonial Office himself spent a fortnight in the Colony and Protectorate early in the year and was much impressed by the quantity of fish available. By November an extensive survey of the fisheries resources of this area had been planned in London and a party, consisting of a fish oils chemist, a canning expert, a Political Officer and the permanent Fisheries Officer, arrived in Aden towards the end of the month. They were later joined by the Fisheries Adviser and a second Fisheries Officer was expected early in 1948.

By the end of the year, the two technical experts and the Political Officer were at work at Mukalla and the Fisheries Officer was at Aden starting to equip two vessels for experimental fishing.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

As already stated, the main industry is the bunkering of ships and the handling of cargo. These activities are in the hands of large firms, the labour employed consisting almost entirely of immigrant Yemeni Arabs who come south for a year or two, leaving their wives at home, and return when they have accumulated sufficient money.

There are some small factories owned by private companies. The chief are soap works, aluminium pressing of domestic utensils, cutting of button blanks from trochas shell, manufacture of cigarettes and dyeing and printing of cloth. These (with the exception of button blanks) supply the local demand and provide for export to adjoining territories.

Of industries organised among small producers, the principal one is the weaving of cloth, by one-man treadle-operated handlooms. This supplies Aden and adjoining territories. Small crushing-plants, with one camel turning a mill, extract sesame oil for cooking purposes.

The industries supplying the domestic market are mostly in the hands of individual craftsmen, or a master craftsman with a few assistants. Such are tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, garage mechanics, bakers, confectioners, potters, barbers, washermen and cobblers.

Lorries are owned in small fleets by merchants and contractors; conversely, the 65 buses are almost in individual ownership. Taxis are in small ownership, and mainly driven by Somalis.

As an example of the diverse nationality of business ownerships in Aden, the following are the main concerns and their proprietorship:

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

Salt Works	Italian, Indian.
Soap Works	French.
Dyeing and Printing	French, Indian.
Button Factory	Italian.
Aluminium Factory	Indian.
Shipping Agencies	British, Indian.
Ship-owning	French, Arab, Indian.
Oil Supply	British, French, Arab.

The most important developments in 1947 were the restriction of output of the weaving and dyeing industries owing to inability to procure the thread or cloth to process and the establishment of the new industries of button-cutting and aluminium-pressing.

There are no co-operative societies.

Aden has no agriculture, forests or mines. Animal husbandry is confined to the keeping of a few hundred cows for dairy purposes. The following statement shows the imports and exports of animals:

TOTAL IMPORTS OF ANIMALS

	Sheep and Goats	*Cattle*	*Camels*	*Horses*	*Mules*
By land	34,048	4,870	85	12	—
By sea	101,677	180	—	2	29
TOTAL	135,725	5,050	85	14	29

TOTAL EXPORTS OF ANIMALS (BY SEA)

Sheep and goats	*Cattle*	*Camels*	*Dogs*
2,697	28	—	4

Total Exports of Animals by Military . Sheep and goats, 180

Chapter 7: Social Services

EDUCATION

There are three kinds of schools in the Colony: Government schools under the Director of Education, which are financed directly from Colony funds; schools which Government recognises and assists by means of grants-in-aid both on capital and recurrent costs; and a number of indigenous and Quranic schools for both boys and girls. The public demand for education continued to expand, and applications for admittance to schools outnumbered the available places. To meet this demand it was possible to arrange for a number of extra streams of pupils to be started, as well as for a " special " class for a group of successful candidates

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden MM1

Lorries are owned in small fleets by merchants and contractors; conversely, the 65 buses are almost all in individual ownership. Taxis are in small ownership, and mainly driven by Somalis.

As an example of the diverse nationality of business ownership in Aden, the following are the main concerns and the nationality of their proprietors:

Salt Works	Italian, Indian.
Soap Works	French.
Dyeing and Printing	French, Indian.
Aluminium Factory	Indian.
Shipping Agencies	British, Indian, French.
Ship-owning	British, French, Arab, Indian.

There are no co-operative societies.

Aden has no agriculture, forests or mines. Animal husbandry is confined to the keeping of a few hundred cows for dairy purposes. Animals were imported as follows:

TOTAL IMPORTS OF ANIMALS

	Sheep and Goats	*Cattle*	*Camels*	*Horses*	*Donkeys*	*Dogs*
[illegible]land	41,393	5,031	44	6	1	Nil
[illegible]	105,729	76	3	Nil	Nil	13
TOTAL	147,122	5,107	47	6	1	13

Chapter 7: Social Services

EDUCATION

Types of School. Schools directly maintained by Government provide primary and lower secondary education through the medium of Arabic, the mother-tongue of the large majority of the population, and higher secondary education through the medium of English. The teaching of English is begun in the first standard of the lower secondary school, the suggestion for its introduction into the primary schools having been rejected by reason of pressure for fuller teaching of Arabic.

Aided schools similarly provide primary and lower secondary education through the media of English, Gujrati, Hebrew and Urdu.

There are also a number of unrecognised indigenous and Quranic schools for both boys and girls.

The public demand for educational expansion was very impressive. There was much pleasure expressed at the provisions of the Five-Year Plan but this was tempered with much scepticism. The "special" class worked well and all pupils passed into the Government Secondary School.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1

THE COLONY

PART I

Review of 1949 and 1950

THE progress of the Colony has been uninterrupted by any serious political or industrial disputes, or by epidemic disease, and both in numbers of residents and material prosperity it has grown far beyond any previous records. The number of ships calling at Aden for fuel make it one of the busiest ports of the world, handling a tonnage comparable with Liverpool, while the air services radiating from Aden to the Middle East, India and the East African Territories have increased in number and frequency. The new civil airport is nearing completion. A new radio-telephone link has been established with East Africa and London.

Steady progress has been made with the Education Five-Year Plan, and with other development works, described in more detail below, and the revenue has remained adequate for recurrent expenditure and for substantial expenditure upon new works without raising additional taxation.

The increase in the population has been caused mainly by the immigration of Arabs from the interior (Aden Protectorate and Yemen) and of Indians and Pakistanis, in most cases single men only. In order to prevent the influx into Aden of people for whom there cannot be found employment or housing, new Immigration Rules were introduced in May, 1950, under which an intending immigrant must satisfy the Government that he is coming to an approved occupation for which no suitable local candidate (of any race) is available. This control has been so far effected mainly on persons arriving by sea. The protection of local employees is being accompanied by a vigorous programme of school building, including a technical college, to raise the educational standard of local candidates.

The late Mr. A. Antonin Besse, K.B.E., made a generous gift of £50,000 to the Colony ; £29,000 is to be spent on buildings at the new Technical College and it is proposed to use the balance for the education of women in Aden.

A population movement of great significance was completed during the period under review by the migration of nearly 42,000 Jews of Yemen origin to Israel. Arrangements for their air lift from Aden were made by the Israeli Authorities in close co-operation with the Aden Government, and the operation was completed without accident or any outbreak of disease, and without molestation by the Arab communities through whom they passed.

The Yemeni Jews have thus ceased to be an important element of the population of Southern Arabia, and in Aden Colony they have

563 fallen below Indians in numbers and influence. There has thus been a temptation for the less responsible sections of the Arab press to transfer to Indians the animosity previously stirred up against the Jews as an alien and wealthy race, extorting inflated profits from the poor ignorant Arab.

648 The feeling of solidarity between Arabs and Pakistanis has been demonstrated on the visits of H.M. Pakistani ships of war. At the same time it must be placed on record that British and Indian ships have been given most cordial receptions.

641 Some constutional advance was made by the reduction of the property qualifications for electors to the Township Authority of Fortress, and the introduction of an income qualification, which increased the number of voters from 1,600 to 5,000. The next election will be held in March, 1951.

647 Social work has been helped by the formation of a Social Welfare
746 Advisory Council, which includes unofficial representatives of all races, and a Labour Advisory Board, also with substantial unofficial representation, has been set up.

362 The shortage of housing remains one of the most important problems facing Government. Some 280 working-class houses have been built by Government at Sheikh Othman, but these replace insanitary mat houses which were destroyed as the new buildings became available, and do not provide additional accommodation; it is estimated that at least 2,000 new houses are needed. The Government is examining new methods of cheap and rapid construction, and seeking means of financing a substantial housing programme from Government or private funds.

643 His Excellency Sir Reginald Champion, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., proceeded on leave prior to retirement in October, 1950. He served in Aden from 1928 to 1934; he was appointed Chief Secretary in 1942 and Governor in 1944.

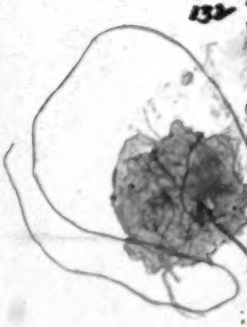
000 Visitors to Aden included Mr. Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones, who called briefly in transit, and Sir T. Lloyd, Permanent Under Secretary of State who made a comprehensive tour of the Colony and Protectorate.

DEVELOPMENT

652 The finances of the Colony continue in a healthy condition and revenue remains buoyant. The financial year 1949-50 ended with a deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs compared with an estimated deficit of nearly Rs. 40 lakhs. Expenditure exceeded the estimate by over Rs. 6 lakhs and revenue was up by over Rs. 36 lakhs. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry out the full programme under the development plan, and expenditure on capital works fell short of that programme by Rs. 22 lakhs. The excess of expenditure over the estimate was due mainly to extraordinary expenditure on revision of salaries and rehabilitation loans, all of which were paid during 1949-50. On the other hand, the Colony's surplus balances were written down by over Rs. 20 lakhs owing to the sharp fall in the value of investments at the end of the

ADEN MMI
HADHRAMAUT MMI

A 132



scanty and irregular throughout most of the region. At Aden, it averages about 3 to 5 inches a year, and is normally concentrated in the period from December to April. In contrast, the western highlands receive a summer rainfall which reaches 15 to 20 inches a year in most areas. The precipitation in the Hadhramaut region does not follow a seasonal pattern: it is appreciably lower and often localized in distribution. Torrential thunderstorms sometimes occur, while sandstorms are frequent, especially between May and September.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

A 161 162 361

The population of the Colony is essentially cosmopolitan and urban in character. According to the last census in 1946, the inhabitants numbered 80,516, including 58,455 Arabs, 7,273 Jews, 4,322 Somalis, 9,456 Indians, 365 Europeans and 645 of other nationalities. Since that date, the population has increased markedly. In 1950, it was officially estimated at 100,000, and was generally believed to approach 110,000 to 120,000. The Arabs are mainly immigrants or descendants of immigrants from the Protectorate and Yemen: in 1946, slightly less than one half were registered as Aden-born. Most of the Jewish community has recently migrated to Israel, with the result that a remnant of less than 2,000 Jews remained in 1951.

A 161 167 563

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The Colony consists of two incorporated townships, besides important military installations. The township of Aden, sometimes designated as the Fortress, embraces all the settlements on the Aden peninsula and isthmus. It had over 55,800 inhabitants in 1946, about 36,200 of whom lived in the main town of Crater and 12,000 in the modern harbor sections of Tawahi and Steamer Point. Sheikh Othman, the second township, had about 22,600 residents. It comprises the town itself, situated on an oasis behind the peninsula, several small out-

ficiency are widespread. Pellagroid lesions of the skin are often encountered among the peoples of the Protectorate. In a survey of 518 Arab schoolboys in Aden township in 1949, no cases of overt deficiency were found, but enlargement of the liver, possibly suggestive of low protein intake, was revealed in 27 per cent.

Miscellaneous Conditions

A small outbreak of epidemic muscular rheumatism, classified as Bornholm disease, was reported from Aden in 1946. It involved 35 persons—34 British and 1 Arab.

Hepatic cirrhosis is one of the most frequent conditions seen at the Civil Hospital. Local physicians have noted that most of the cases come from malarious regions where qat is widely used, but the underlying causes have not been investigated.

Chewing the leaves of *Catha edulis*, or qat, is a general custom in Western Aden Protectorate. The leaf juices contain a stimulant, and habitual indulgence is said to produce loss of appetite, sleeplessness and a variety of more serious nervous disorders. Local observers believe that addiction to the drug contributes to the widespread undernutrition among the people.

SUMMARY

The Colony of Aden and the adjacent Protectorate, on the southern coast of Arabia, have been British dependencies for over a century. The population of the Colony, including the port of Aden, was enumerated at 80,516 in the census of 1946, and calculated at over 100,000 in 1950. The Protectorate territory comprises two administrative divisions—Western Aden Protectorate and Eastern Aden Protectorate, in which the estimated population for 1948 was about 350,000 and 300,000, respectively. The local governments are tribal and diverse in organization, ranging from sultanates to smaller autonomous units. The inhabitants of both the Colony and the Protectorate are predominantly Arabs and adherents of Islam.

p. 251 (8)

65: Landshut S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Yemen MLI
Aden mmh 75

exodus, it is said to have housed about 8,000. There are smaller communities in various towns like Sa'da, Dhamar and Kaukaban. The rest are scattered in numerous villages, mostly situated in the interior of the mountain plateau. A good many of these must have been almost emptied of Jews by the recent mass emigration.

From all accounts it would seem that the personal régime of the late Imam Yahya was not among the worst known to the Yemeni Jews, who speak of him with some respect. It is said that the Jews living in the capital under the Imam's personal control were far better treated than those in the provinces. In 1942, when news reached the Yemeni Jews in Palestine that the old Imam was seriously ill, prayers were offered by them for his recovery.

The most likely reason for the widespread desire of the Jews in Yemen to emigrate is the fact that they believe that the time of the Messiah has arrived. At the same time, account must be taken of their pitiful economic condition and their status of inferiority. It would seem likely that the accounts they have received from early emigrants to Palestine of the conditions of life to be enjoyed there have had considerable influence.

There was great anxiety at the time of the 1948 revolt, when the late Imam Yahya's chief adviser—Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Wazir—revolted against his master, who was already then at an advanced age. In due course, after a long struggle, however, the Imam Yahya's eldest surviving son—the Emir Saif al-Islam Ahmad—defeated the rebels in battle, and, after imprisoning their leader, was proclaimed Imam in succession to his late father.

The new Imam—who, on ascending the throne, changed his name from Saif al-Islam Ahmad to Ahmad al-Nasir li-Din Allah—appears to have been more ready to listen to representations from Jewish organisations in the West. Thus, while up to his accession Jews who left the country did so at their own peril and risked arrest on the outward journey to Aden, instructions have now been issued that they should be allowed to leave without hindrance. Hence the fact that between August, 1949, and the time of writing, about 42,000 Yemeni Jews have been flown from Aden—where they had gone as soon as the ban was lifted—to Israel.

The British authorities in Aden have done much to assist the emigrants by putting a military camp in the colony at their disposal, and have been generous in the supply of medical facilities.

So general an exodus has meant that yet another Jewish community of great antiquity has been to a great extent disbanded.

ADEN

When the Aden riots broke out on December 2, 1947, the Jewish community numbered 8,550. That, at any rate, is the figure given in the official British *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Aden*, though other sources put the total at somewhat

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Aden MM1

fewer. Be that as it may, of the total only 4,700 belonged to the original Jewish community of Aden: the rest—about 3,800—were Yemeni Jews in transit to Palestine. On arrival in Aden, after a most hazardous journey across the desert, the Yemeni emigrants were usually destitute and in a complete state of exhaustion.

Formerly they used to be quartered either in the Jewish part of the Crater district of the town or in the Jewish quarter of Sheikh 'Othman, about eight miles inland from the Crater. More recently, so much has their number increased, that a separate camp, known as Hashad camp, was for a time set up for them a mile and a half from Sheikh 'Othman. The Hashad camp, which has now been replaced by another—made available by the Aden Government—was subsidised by the Joint Distribution Committee and directed by a woman physician (a remarkable woman in many ways), Dr. Olga Feinberg.

Many of the Yemeni Jews in Aden are employed as coolies, casual labourers and hawkers, a number dwelling in the Coolie Lines and in caves in the rocks. The rest are mainly craftsmen (as they were in Yemen)—gold- and silversmiths, weavers, carders, thatchers, and so forth.

The Jewish community of Aden proper, numbering until recently between 4,000 and 5,000, is centred in the Crater, where Jewish shops, many of them in the Suq, are mingled with those of Muslims, Hindus, and Parsees. A few of the wealthier Jewish merchants have shops in the Steamer Point district, where the Government offices and better-class shops are situated.

Thanks to the generosity of the Menahem Messa family, until the riots, the community had a large and well-equipped school and a spacious new synagogue. In addition, there was another somewhat smaller school. Owing to the lack of qualified teachers, however, the standard of education is low. The new and richly decorated synagogue was also used as a kind of clubhouse, and was an habitual rendezvous when services were not in progress.

The relations between the old Jewish community of Aden and the Muslims used to be tolerably good. But the growing influx of Yemeni Jews led to the development of a certain degree of tension between them and the Muslim coolies, many of whom—incidentally—are themselves of Yemeni origin. It is also likely that inflammatory nationalist broadcasts from Egypt and other Arab stations in the Middle East, blaring out daily through loudspeakers in Aden cafés, have played their part in stirring up anti-Jewish feeling.

Following the appeal of the Arab League for a three-day protest strike against the decision of the United Nations to partition Palestine, an anti-Zionist demonstration in Aden developed into a riot. Jewish shops and houses in the Crater and in Sheikh 'Othman were attacked, many being burnt and looted.

From the official report of the Commission of Inquiry, it is evident that the reason why the British authorities were unable to bring the

65: Landshut S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East
Aden MM1

disturbances to an end for three whole days was that the Aden Protectorate Levies completely failed to do their duty. This locally-raised force, recruited from the Muslim tribes of the Protectorate area, not only failed to stop the rioters, but themselves took part in the looting of Jewish shops. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the high number of Jewish casualties is due to the fact that the Levies turned their weapons on the victims of the riots instead of on the rioters.

Feelings run high in these matters, and there is always a temptation to attribute to bias in official quarters events caused merely by incompetence. It must be said, on the other hand, that the authorities themselves have done little to dispel suspicion of bias on their part. For instance, on December 5, 1947, the Governor of Aden sent a cable to the Colonial Secretary in London, part of which reads as follows:

"Alleged hostile activity of Jews created new dangerous tension, especially after killing of a Levy and an Indian Muslim Government doctor almost certainly by Jewish snipers."

The subsequent Commission of Inquiry, however, established that there was not the slightest evidence of the existence of any Jewish snipers whatsoever, and that the Indian doctor had in fact been shot by Levies (*Report*, pp. 14 and 21).

During the riots, both Jewish schools and four of the synagogues were burnt to the ground. Of the 170 Jewish shops in Aden, 106 were totally looted and another eight partially looted. About 220 Jewish houses were destroyed or damaged. Eighty-two Jews were killed, and a similar number wounded. Financially, the losses suffered by the Aden Jews are estimated at £1,150,000.

The riots had a devastating effect on the Jewish community, economically as well as socially and psychologically. The compensation (partly in the form of loans) offered by the Aden Government to help those who had lost everything to start afresh was totally inadequate. Moreover, widespread bewilderment and distrust had undermined the very basis of normal peaceful social relations between Jews and Muslims.

The American Joint Distribution Committee consequently decided on a large-scale evacuation plan—"Operation Magic Carpet"—as a result of which almost the entire Jewish population was ferried by air to Israel. At the time of writing, there are only 1,200 Jews left in Aden, of whom about a quarter have expressed a wish to emigrate.